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PART II. — MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

I. THE COUNTRY OF THE KORYAK.

131 PRESENT AND FORMER EXTENT OF THE KORYAK TERRITORY. — The boundaries of the Koryak territory have somewhat changed since the advent of the Russians to that region. Prior to the time when the Russians came in contact with the Koryak, the latter reached as far as Tauysk. The first encounter between the Russians and the Koryak, according to the reports of the Cossacks, took place in the Tauysk settlement. There were at that time villages of Maritime Koryak all along the western shore of the Okhotsk Sea and Gishiga Bay, and upon the adjacent rocky islands between the mouth of the Gishiga River and Tauysk.

101 131 At present the inhabitants of Tauysk are officially classified as Yakut who were transferred thither from Yakutsk; but, as a matter of fact, they are a mixture of Yakut, Cossacks, and Tungus. Farther north — if we exclude the villages of Yamsk, Tumanskoye, and Nayakhan, whose inhabitants have become Russianized, and who have become physically intermixed with other tribes, Russians, Tungus, and Yakut — the Varkhalam River, in the valley of which some Reindeer Koryak still wander, may now be regarded as the border-line of the Koryak territory northwest of the Okhotsk Sea.

● 175 131 According to the Russian annals, the Koryak spread in Kamchatka as far as the Tighil River, on which, in the time of Krasheninnikoff, Koryak villages were still to be found.[1] Dittmar, in 1853, drew the boundary-line between the Koryak and the Kamchadal below the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude, somewhat to the south of the village of Oserna on the Bering Sea side, and of Voyampolka on the Okhotsk Sea.[2]

Krasheninnikoff mentions[3] a group of Koryak who in his time lived along the Imatkha River, a tributary of the Avacha, not far from Petropavlovsk. According to Krasheninnikoff, this group of Koryak formerly belonged to the nomadic Reindeer branch; but, their reindeer having been driven away by

[1] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 32.
[2] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamchatka; and Part I of this volume, map.
[3] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 50.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

enemies, they settled down in one place. At the same time, however, they refrained from forming ties of kinship with the Kamchadal, thus preserving their language and customs intact. Now they have become Russianized, like the Kamchadal, and in no way differ from them. "Koryaki,"[1] the name of their settlement, is the sole reminder of their origin.

At the present time the camps of the Reindeer Koryak reach as far south along the western slope of the Kamchatka Ridge as the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude:[1] and, according to Slunin, a few families will sometimes even reach Bolsheretzk.[2] The Reindeer Koryak have also spread farther northward than at the time of the intertribal wars. Then, according to tradition, the southern Chukchee camps were separated from the northern Koryak camps by a stretch of desert land, which the Chukchee would cross from time to time to attack the Koryak. Now the Chukchee and Koryak camps wander peacefully together upon the table-land of the Palpal.

I am inclined to suppose that no changes have occurred in the distribution of the Koryak in the northeastern region. The northeastern branch of the Koryak, the Kerek, have held themselves aloof from Russian influence, and until recently have been very little known.

The western boundary-line of the Koryak territory is formed, now as formerly, by the Stanovoi, or, as Maydell calls it, the Kolyma Ridge. But in winter, for purposes of squirrel-hunting, a few camps wander across the Stanovoi Ridge into the region of the Kolyma River, as far as its tributaries Omolon and Korkodon, and return in the spring. According to traditions of the Korkodon Yukaghir, the Koryak in olden times crossed the Stanovoi Ridge to wage war against them.

At the present time the Koryak territory is situated mainly in the two districts of Gishiga and Petropavlovsk. The Gishiga district has an area of 81,553 square miles, and that of Petropavlovsk 149,467 square miles. According to official data, there are in the Gishiga district 0.9 inhabitants to a square mile, and in that of Petropavlovsk 0.45 inhabitants to a square mile. The population is, of course, concentrated near the mouths of the rivers, in the river-valleys, and in places where reindeer-food is abundant. Between these inhabited places are large stretches of uninhabited desert land.

To understand Koryak culture in so far as it depends upon environment, it is necessary to give here a brief description of the nature of that region.

Orography. — The Koryak territory may be called a highland rather than a lowland country, but nowhere do the elevations reach any considerable height. They are either spurs of mountain-chains which lie outside of the Koryak country, or are small elevations forming the watersheds within the country. The Stanovoi Ridge sends a few such small spurs eastward, which

[1] See Part I, map.

[2] See Slunin, I, p. 450.

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XIV. — HISTORY OF THE CONTACT OF THE KORYAK WITH RUSSIANS, AMERICANS, AND NEIGHBORING PEOPLES.[1]

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First Encounters of the Koryak with the Russians. — In 1632 the Russian conquerors of Siberia settled on the Lena River, and built a fortified town, Yakutsk, which they used as a central base for further expeditions. In the course of these expeditions they reached Okhotsk and Bering Seas on the east, the Arctic Ocean on the north, and the Amur River on the south.

In their progress eastward the Russians met the Koryak. Rumors of the abundance of furs in the district of Okhotsk began to reach Yakutsk in 1636, and in 1639 a party in command of the Cossack Moskvitin ascended the river Aldan, its tributary the Maya, and the Yudoma, an affluent of the latter, and, after crossing the Stanovoi Mountains, reached the upper course of the Ulya River. Following the course of this river, they reached the Sea of Okhotsk. The next year a number of these Russians advanced along the coast to Tauysk, which lies about four hundred miles northeast of the mouth of the Ulya River. Here they first met the Koryak; but the conquest of this region did not immediately follow. On the southern shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the Russians had to break the violent opposition of the Tungus. A fortified settlement built by the Russians in 1644 at the mouth of the Okhota River — a settlement which has now become the district town Okhotsk — was repeatedly attacked by the Tungus. At other places the Tungus annihilated parties of Russians.

The land-route from Okhotsk to the mouth of the Gishiga River led over Tauysk, Yamsk, Tovatama, and other villages of the Koryak territory. On this route, which ran along a narrow strip of coast between the Stanovoi Mountains and the Sea of Okhotsk, the Russians met violent and prolonged resistance on the part of the Maritime Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk. At times the Russians succeeded in breaking up a village or settlement, and forced the Koryak to pay tribute; but until the year 1712 the Koryak between Tauysk and the Penshina River absolutely refused to recognize Russian

[1] The historical sketch contained in this chapter is based on data collected by the author in the Archives of Gishiginsk, and, besides the sources enumerated in the list of authorities (pp. 3—11), — like Krasheninnikoff, Slovtsoff, Maydell, Slunin, and others, — on the following works: T. E. Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte (St. Petersburg, 1768), Parts 1, 2; Semitsky, Newest Interesting and Authentic Narrative of East Siberia (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1817; Pypin, History of Russian Ethnography (Russian), St. Petersburg, 1892, Vol. IV, Siberia; Andrievich, The History of Siberia (St. Petersburg, 1889), Parts I, II (Russian); Andrievich, Historical Sketches of Siberia, based on the Russian Code (St. Petersburg, 1887); Priklonsky, Bibliography of Siberia (Russian); Stchergloff, Chronological List of the Most Important Data of the History of Siberia, Irkutsk, 1883 (Russian); Solovyeff, Russian History, St. Petersburg, Vols. I—XXI (Russian). The characterization and interpretation of the historical facts belong to the author.

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sovereignty. In the course of that year a party led by the Cossack Gutoroff, after an unsuccessful attempt to reach Kamchatka by sea[1] from Okhotsk, advanced along the coast to the mouth of the Iglylan River.[2] Here, according to Cossack accounts, they found the Koryak from several villages gathered; and in a hot fight which ensued,[3] seventy adult Koryak and two hundred youths and children were killed. Gutoroff could not advance farther north on account of the refusal of the Tungus to accompany them any farther. It appears from the Government records, that between 1730 and 1750 — that is, after the expedition of Pavlutsky, which will be described later on — the entire Okhotsk coast was still in the hands of the Koryak, and Okhotsk could communicate with Anadyr only by way of Kamchatka. Not until 1757, when a fortified settlement was built at the mouth of the Gishiga River, and after the fortress Anadyrsk was abandoned by the Russians in 1764, can it be said that Koryak resistance ceased, and some groups of Koryak began to pay tribute (yasak) of their own accord.

Most of the fighting with the Koryak was directed by the commanders of the fortress Anadyrsk, and not by the Administration of Okhotsk.

In their northeastern advance from Yakutsk, the Russians reached the mouth of the Kolyma River, where, in 1644, the Cossack Stadukhin founded the settlement Nishne-Kolymsk. From that spot the Russians proceeded farther east; and in 1649 the fortress Anadyrsk, on the river of the same name, was founded by the Cossack Deshneff, who had travelled in boats from the mouth of the Kolyma through Bering Strait to the mouth of the Anadyr.

The fortress Anadyrsk played a prominent part in the Russian conquest of the extreme northeast of Siberia; for, from Anadyr as a base, military expeditions were undertaken which led to the conquest of the Koryak, and later to that of the Kamchadal.

On the Anadyr River the Russians had to deal with the Chukchee, whose subjection cost the conquerors a hard struggle. The location of the movable Chukchee camps was seldom known to the Russians. In their search for these camps in the open tundra, the comparatively insignificant Russian parties always ran the risk of being surrounded by a numerous enemy, and the journeys of the expeditions through the desert polar tundras presented all but insurmountable difficulties. Besides, a detached band of Chukchee would prefer to die and kill their wives and children rather than consent to pay tribute or deliver hostages, whom the Russian conquerors always demanded from Siberian peoples as a guaranty of their submission. At last, after a

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[1] For this purpose the Cossacks made a raft of boats, but high winds prevented them from reaching the open sea.

[2] This must be a river north of Yamsk.

[3] In the Russian chronicles the expression is "6ery and bow fight," which indicates that guns and bows were used, in distinction from a "bow fight," where bows and arrows are the only weapons.

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fruitless and expensive campaign, which lasted over a century, the Russian Government gave up the idea of subjecting the Chukchee by force of arms. In 1764 the fortress Anadyrsk was destroyed, and the garrison was transferred to Gishiga and to the Kolyma.

The cause of these Russian failures lay, not so much in the warlike spirit, the love of freedom, and the fearlessness of the Chukchee, as in the fact that the Russians had come in contact almost exclusively with Reindeer Chukchee;[1] that is, not with hunters, but with reindeer-breeders, whose territory was very poor in valuable furs, and who could not satisfy the greed of the conquerors for expensive furs, even had they been willing to do so. These conditions account for the shifting of the Russians from the Anadyr River southward into regions abounding in sable.

In their advance southward, the Russians had their first dealings with the Koryak, whose fate for a long period depended upon the strength of the fortress Anadyrsk.

Since 1649, when the fortress Anadyrsk was founded, Cossack parties starting out from that fortified place attempted to impose tribute on the greater part of the Gishiga Koryak, — the villages Oklansk,[2] Kamenskoye, Talovka, and Ma'meč, — and also on some Alutor villages. Naturally, the tribute of these Koryak could not be relied upon. It was paid when the Russians were strong enough to collect it by force.

The Cossacks learned from the Alutor and Gishiga Koryak that the best peltries, such as sables, sea-otters (*Enhydris marina*), and sea-bears (*Otaria ursina*), were obtained by the Koryak themselves through exchange from Kamchatka. This discovery led to an expedition to Kamchatka, and to the conquest of the Kamchadal and the Koryak in the northern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula.

In 1696, Atlassov, the commandant of the fortress Anadyrsk, sent a detachment of sixteen men, under the command of the Cossack Morozko, to the Peninsula of Kamchatka, to verify the reports of its wealth in peltries. The following year Atlassov undertook the journey himself. He sent Morozko with a detachment to Bering Sea, while he himself advanced along the coast of the Bay of Penshina, gathering tribute from the inhabitants of Oklansk, Kamenskoye, and Talovka, and seized the settlement Pallan and some others. In Tighil he met Morozko, who had gathered tribute from the Alutor Koryak and from others living on the coast of Bering Sea. Then they advanced together, reached the Kamchatka River, received tribute from the Kamchadal who were living along that river, and founded the Verkhne-Kamchatsk fortress. Thus the conquest of Kamchatka was begun.

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[1] Even now the Maritime Chukchee come little into contact with Russians.

[2] The Koryak village Oklansk was destroyed by Cossacks in 1679, and a fort was built in its place. Oklansk was situated at the mouth of the river Oklan, a tributary of the Penshina, about 20 miles from its mouth.

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In the following historical account I shall mention Kamchatka and the Kamchadal only in so far as necessary for the proper understanding of events relating to the Koryak. The uprisings of the Kamchadal and of the Koryak, and their subjection by the Russians, are too closely connected to be completely separated in an historical sketch.

When the Russians had settled in Kamchatka, the peninsula and the entire Koryak territory became dependent upon the fortress Anadyrsk. The sea-route from Okhotsk to Kamchatka was at that time unknown, and the land-journey through the territory of the turbulent Koryak was considered impossible. In those days Kamchatka was the most valuable acquisition of the Russian Government in the Far East, and yet communication of the Yakutsk Administration with Kamchatka had to be maintained over a long and dangerous route. The way from Kamchatka to Yakutsk lay through the entire Koryak country, to the Anadyr and Kolyma Rivers, and over the Verkhoyansk range of mountains. A great number of the Cossack parties who started out from Kamchatka with tribute of furs never reached the fortress Anadyrsk. The Koryak killed the Cossacks from ambushes, and kept the furs. Transports that had safely reached Anadyrsk would arrive in Yakutsk three years after they had left Kamchatka. Cossack detachments carrying provisions, gunpowder, arms, and cannons, from Yakutsk to Kamchatka, were also harassed by Koryak attacks. To put an end to such conditions, a direct sea-route from Okhotsk to Kamchatka had to be discovered; and the Koryak had to be finally subdued in order that the winter route might be rendered safe.

Until the sea-route from Okhotsk was discovered, the Cossacks of the peninsula tried to utilize the Pacific Ocean route to shorten the dangerous trip from Kamchatka to Anadyrsk. They would build large boats of boards, and, starting from the mouth of the Kamchatka River, would travel northward to the mouth of the Alut River. In 1712, in order to facilitate these expeditions, the Cossacks built a settlement, protected by a wall, at the mouth of the Alut River, where Cossack parties could find shelter against the attacks of the Alutor Koryak. During the winter, Cossacks traversed the tundra from the fortified settlement Alut to the mouth of the Oklan River, a tributary of the Penshina, and to the fortress Oklansk, which was mentioned above; from Oklansk they travelled northward along the valley of the Penshina, and, having traversed the Nalginsk Mountains, arrived at the Anadyr River. That part of the way from Kamchatka to the Anadyr which lay between Alut and Oklansk was of course not safe from unexpected attacks of the Koryak, who were forever searching for Cossack detachments.

The unsuccessful attempt of 1712 to reach Kamchatka by sea from Okhotsk was followed in 1713 by a special *ukaz* of Peter I, ordering that a sea-route to Kamchatka be found. All attempts, however, failed until 1716, when a successful journey was made from Okhotsk to Tighil in a large boat.

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Thus the dependence of Kamchatka on the Anadyr route was brought to a close, and communication between the peninsula and Yakutsk was henceforth carried on directly by way of Okhotsk.

The discovery of a sea-route to Kamchatka gave an impetus to geographical explorations in Bering Sea. In 1726 the first expedition of Bering was undertaken, followed by a second in 1737–45. In the interval between these expeditions, which were scientific in character and had no direct relation to the Administration of Kamchatka, the Kamchadal were finally subdued.

During the same period, military operations were carried on against the Koryak and Chukchee. Thus, in 1720, Kharitonov, a boyar-son,[1] started out from Kamchatka with sixty Cossacks and cannons to punish the people of Pallan, who had refused to pay the tribute. The Pallantsi did not offer resistance, and received the Cossacks with pretended humility. During the night, however, they fell upon the sleeping Cossacks, killed Kharitonov and nine Cossacks with their spears, and wounded fourteen. The survivors gained the upper hand of their assailants, and avenged the death of their comrades by annihilating the entire village. At about the same time another chief official in Kamchatka, Triffonov, was subjugating the Koryak villages Poqač, Oklansk, and Kamenskoye; but the most important military expedition was formed in 1727, in accordance with an imperial *ukaz*, the Cossack chief Afanassy Shestakoff being in command. He had for his first-lieutenant Captain Pavlutsky, who was famous for his courage and administrative ability. Having left Yakutsk, they divided into two parties. One of them, with Pavlutsky in command, proceeded northward by way of Nishne-Kolymsk to the Anadyr; the other, under Shestakoff himself, moved eastward to Okhotsk. Shestakoff had about four hundred Cossacks and a number of sailors, and carried materials for the construction of ships.

In the autumn of 1729, Shestakoff boarded his two ships and started out from Okhotsk northward, without awaiting the arrival of all his men. As the season was advanced, he could travel by sea only to Tauysk. From there he continued his course northward on sledges. He successfully traversed the thinly populated strip of coast between Tauysk and the Gishiga River, inflicting inhuman atrocities on the Koryak, who refused, or rather were not able, to pay their tribute in furs. On penetrating farther northeastward, however, he soon discovered that he would not be able to cope with the large villages along the shore of the Bay of Penshina, and the numerous bands of Reindeer Koryak. His original plan was to subdue the Maritime Koryak of the Bay of Penshina and the Reindeer Koryak of the interior; then to operate against the Alutor Koryak; and from there to proceed to

[1] The "boyare" (*sing.* boyarin) constituted the highest class of the Russian aristocracy forming the council of the Czars of the period before Peter the Great. "Boyar-sons" or "boyar-children" formed a lower class of the nobility. They were chiefly descendants of the "boyare," who had not attained the rank of the boyar class.

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the Anadyr, where he expected to meet Pavlutsky. This plan, however, was not carried out. After crossing the Paren River, Shestakoff received word from the Koryak that a large band of Chukchee was marching against him. He deliberated for a while, and then continued his advance, resolved to give battle to the Chukchee. The encounter took place on the Ega'č River, since called Shestakovka, in memory of Shestakoff's death on March 14, 1730. In the battle which ensued, Shestakoff, as well as the majority of the Russian warriors, met their death. Shestakoff's defeat was due to the relative insignificance of his force. His arrogance and self-reliance equalled his ignorance of local conditions and his cruelty. When leaving Okhotsk, he had with him about thirty Cossacks, as many Reindeer Tungus, and ten Yakut. In Tauysk he was joined by thirty Koryak. Having thus, outside of the small number of Russian warriors, only unreliable allies to fall back upon, he dared to set fire to the villages and to burn alive those Koryak who refused to pay tribute or to deliver hostages. Thus he burned the entire village Tavatoma, having first ordered that the exits from the subterranean houses be barricaded. Through such apalling cruelty he aroused against himself even the most peaceable Koryak. At the first encounter with a superior force, his untrustworthy allies — the Tungus, Yakut, and Koryak — left the battle-field; and, although many enemies fell from the Russian bullets, the Cossacks were soon overpowered by the overwhelming numbers of the attacking tribesmen.

To this day it has not been positively ascertained to what people the attacking party belonged. The Cossack reports give them as the Chukchee. Maydell controverts this statement. In his opinion, they were Koryak who had posed as Chukchee in order to escape the vengeance of the Russians. Maydell seems to have undertaken the ungrateful task of representing the Chukchee as a straightforward and peaceable people, with whom it was useless to fight; the Koryak, on the other hand, he believes to have been cunning traitors, who did infinite harm to the Russians. The Koryak, writes Maydell, would constantly appeal to the Russians for help against the pretended attacks of the Chukchee. Meanwhile they themselves would attack Cossack detachments from ambush and murder single Cossacks, and throw the blame for these acts on the Chukchee.

There is of course nothing remarkable in the fact that the Koryak, in their fight against the Russians, had recourse to tricky and perfidious methods, which are made such excellent use of in the contests of other than primitive peoples. Nor did the Chukchee in this respect differ from the Koryak. The Koryak, especially the Maritime Koryak, suffered more from the Russian conquest than did the Chukchee. At first the Russians had dealings only with the nomadic Reindeer Chukchee, who fled to the tundra whenever they wanted to avoid an encounter with the Cossacks, and also made unexpected attacks on Russian settlements. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, who

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lived along the bays of the Sea of Okhotsk and of Bering Sea, although they could take refuge during the summer on the islands, from the attacks of the Russians, were bound in winter to their shore villages, and cut off from all ways of escape. It is natural, therefore, that whenever they could not protect themselves by force, and would not or could not comply with the demands of the conquerors, they should have recourse to trickery. It is not impossible that they would occasionally charge their sins to the Chukchee in trying to divert the attention of the Russians towards the latter. But in the battle which was fatal to Shestakoff the Chukchee certainly took part, for subsequently Pavlutsky found among the Chukchee living on the Lower Anadyr the banner of Shestakoff's detachment and his arms. It is not improbable that the Chukchee were not alone in that battle, for the Chukchee and the Koryak might have united against their common enemy; but at other times the Chukchee appeared in the Koryak settlements as enemies, not as allies; and the complaints of the Koryak that the Chukchee attacked and plundered them were, on the whole, not unfounded.

The news of Shestakoff's defeat rapidly spread over the Koryak territory and to Kamchatka. The Koryak rose in a body. The garrisons left by Shestakoff in Tauysk and Yamsk were annihilated. Other settlements fortified by the Russians met a similar fate. The eastern Koryak from the Alut to the Tighil soon joined in the uprising, and presently Kamchatka revolted.

Pavlutsky received word of Shestakoff's fate as early as April, 1730, while he was still in Nishne-Kolymsk. He did not reach Anadyrsk (now Markova) until September, 1730. The last months of that year and the year 1731 he spent fighting the Chukchee. At last, in 1732, he determined to open a campaign against the Koryak, in order to punish them for the destruction of the Russian fortifications and the annihilation of garrisons. Maydell[1] sees the reason for Pavlutsky's delay in chastising the revolting Koryak in their cunning. When Pavlutsky arrived in Anadyr, relates Maydell, he was met by Koryak deputies, who represented the battle in which Shestakoff perished as an attack of the Chukchee, and begged for protection against the latter. Thus Pavlutsky was deceived by the Koryak, and, leaving them unmolested, turned against the Chukchee. This account, however, can hardly be credited, for Pavlutsky knew perfectly well that the Koryak had risen all over the country and were killing the Russians. Pavlutsky postponed his advance against the Koryak for two reasons. In the first place, he wanted to be sure of the Chukchee. The second reason lay in the condition of the country. During the summer months, the transportation of a great number of people is impossible in these regions. The beginning of the winter is the season of violent winds, followed by severe colds. The time most propitious for military expeditions is the end of the winter, — the polar spring it might be called, —

[1] See Maydell, I, p. 546.

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which lasts from the end of February to the end of May. Then the winds subside and the frost is moderate. Thus it happened that Pavlutsky spent the winter of 1730–31 in persecuting the Chukchee. The more or less successful battles, however, which he had with the nomadic hordes of the Chukchee, did not yield any positive results in the way of subjugating the country.

On Feb. 10, 1732, Pavlutsky began his march against the Koryak. His force consisted of two hundred and twenty-five Cossacks and a certain number of Yukaghir and Koryak volunteers. The latter had to furnish the party with reindeer for transportation and food. On the march he learned that a considerable number of insurgents had gathered in a fortified village at the mouth of the Paren River, and he turned to go there.

On March 25 he reached the Koryak fortification and ordered a siege. Attempts to induce a voluntary surrender remained futile. The fortification was built on a high steep rock rising directly from the sea and protected from land by a strong stockade and an earth wall. In order not to expose his men to the action of Koryak arrows, Pavlutsky ordered large shields to be made of driftwood. Thus protected, the Russians advanced close to the stockade. The Koryak made a gallant defence, and retreated from the parapet only when the enemy succeeded in throwing hand-grenades over the stockade. Then the stockade was broken, and the Russians penetrated the fortifications, where a desperate fight ensued. When the Koryak saw themselves defeated, they killed their wives and children with the intention of killing themselves also. Before the Russians succeeded in putting a stop to their self-destruction, over two hundred persons were slain. Pavlutsky took many of the surviving Koryak with him as prisoners, leaving in the village only ten young men and five women, in order (so say the chronicles) to give the population a chance to multiply.

After that victory, Pavlutsky returned to Anadyrsk. While on the way, he sent a detachment to Alutorsk with an order to destroy the fortification erected by the Koryak in that settlement.

On the whole, the entire campaign was nothing but a punitive expedition, which was as aimless as its execution was cruel; for after Pavlutsky's departure the Koryak territory relapsed into the old conditions. The fate of the Paren Koryak, of course, greatly impressed the other sections of that people; but no sooner had the immediate danger passed, than they resumed their attacks on the Cossacks, and again refused to pay the tribute, although it was precisely that refusal which had previously led to the fight. We shall see later on, after a detailed treatment of the tribute question, how this policy of military conquest, setting aside its inhuman cruelty, was senseless so far as it was an attempt to win for the State a new colony. If we suppose for a moment that the Russians were able to send against all Koryak settlements

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detachments equal to the one led by Pavlutsky against Paren, the result of such expeditions, considering the national character of the Koryak, would have been a complete depopulation of the country. Fortunately the Russians were not in a position to do that. To equip and send a party of a few hundred men to the extreme northeast of Siberia, as was occasionally done by the Government in expeditions like Shestakoff's and Pavlutsky's, was an enterprise connected with great difficulties; and if the men had to be transported from European Russia, the expense was very great. Besides arms and ammunition, the Cossacks had to carry with them large transports of provisions and clothing. The provisions had to be renewed every year, and were transported on horses, dogs, and reindeer across absolutely desert and almost inaccessible localities. The peoples of the Yakut territory through which the soldiers and transports passed were ruined by these expeditions; their animals would die from exhaustion, and the men would succumb to diseases. When the soldiers, after a hard journey of two or three years, at last reached their destination, they had to face a rough climate and innumerable privations and dangers. The provisions for the garrisons of remote fortresses, which had to be supplied from Yakutsk, were often not sent at all, or arrived in insufficient quantities or imperfect condition. The Cossacks were forced to hunt and fish for food, and not infrequently suffered hunger; when not under cover of the fortifications, they were always in danger of sudden attacks; and the results attained at the cost of such exertion were that an army which had to conquer a people resisting Russia's power was limited in its military operations to a period of from three to four months a year. During that period one or another detachment would attack a village or infuse terror into several villages, only to retreat for an entire year to its fortress, leaving the state of the country unchanged. We have seen that such was the case in Pavlutsky's expedition against Paren. His position in regard to the attainment of his end — the subjection of the Chukchee and Koryak — was especially hopeless; for, after the death of Shestakoff, he had to fight both peoples, each of whom it was hard enough to keep in check to the degree prescribed by the Government in accordance with the recommendations of the Siberian rulers. Another impediment to Pavlutsky's military operations against the Koryak was the fact that he had his headquarters at the fortress Anadyrsk, which was about four hundred miles distant from the Bay of Penshina, the nearest bay of the Sea of Okhotsk. In Pavlutsky's time Kamchatka no longer depended on Anadyrsk, and had its own administrators; for at that time direct communication by sea with Okhotsk was maintained.

On his return to Anadyrsk, after the Paren victory, Pavlutsky found orders from Yakutsk to treat the aborigines more leniently, and to suspend all military operations pending new orders. Finding his plans for future campaigns checked, Pavlutsky resolved to leave for Yakutsk.

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No changes occurred in the Koryak territory as a result of Pavlutsky's campaign. The Koryak continued to dominate over the Okhotsk coast-line. From time to time, however, one or another of the Koryak bands would pay their tribute and enter into more friendly relations with the garrisons of the Russian fortresses. These relations came to an end when, in 1745, a new general uprising took place, which lasted almost to 1756.

I had occasion before to mention the fortifications erected by the Koryak at the mouth of the Oklan River, where it empties into the Penshina. That fortified village was destroyed by Cossacks in 1679, and in 1690 they built in its place the fortress Oklansk. During the fights with the Koryak, that fortress was repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt. In 1741 the sergeant Yenisseysky, who was sent from Anadyrsk, entirely renovated the Oklansk fortifications, and occupied them with a garrison of twenty-four Cossacks. He also succeeded in establishing friendly relations with some Koryak chiefs of the Okhotsk coast; and as a consequence his journeys to Yamsk, Tauysk, and Okhotsk, were no longer interfered with. Later he rebuilt the fortifications of Yamsk and Tauysk, which had been destroyed by the Koryak, and established a small garrison in each place. The number of men at his disposal was small, however; and in October, 1745, he left for Okhotsk to ask for re-enforcements. Meanwhile a new uprising took place. The Koryak seemed to have decided to exterminate all the Russians, and to destroy their fortifications. Yenisseysky had not yet reached Okhotsk when the missionary Flavian, with a retinue, left that town for Anadyrsk. The Koryak fell upon him on the Shestakovka River, killing him and all his men. At the same time they annihilated a detachment of Cossacks who were on their way from Kamchatka to the Anadyr, and another detachment in the vicinity of Oklansk. Yenisseysky, on his way back to Oklansk, met a similar fate. The Koryak who furnished him with draught-animals managed to divide his men into small groups, which they attacked separately, and all were killed. To judge by the reports of the Cossacks, the Reindeer and the Maritime Koryak acted jointly. The Russian fortifications were besieged. The fortress Oklansk was one of the first to be surrounded, the Koryak intending to starve the garrison out. They did not dare to take the fortress by storm, knowing that the garrison was in possession of fire-arms and cannons. The besieged succeeded in sending messengers to Anadyrsk, where Pavlutsky, who had risen to the rank of major, was again commander.

A few words must be said as to the activity of Pavlutsky since the time he left Anadyrsk in 1732. I have related before how the Koryak uprising, after Shestakoff's defeat, had spread to Kamchatka. The uprising of the Kamchadal, which had been fomenting for a long time, broke out in 1731. Until then the Kamchadal did not dare to rise. In 1729 Kamchatka was visited by the first scientific expedition of Bering and his companions; while

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the ship "Gabriel," with a crew of one hundred men belonging to the military expedition of Shestakoff, remained in Nishne-Kamchatka until July, 1731.[1]

As soon as the "Gabriel" had weighed anchor and gained the open sea, the Kamchadal attacked the fortress Nishne-Kamchatsk and took possession of it. Presently a detachment was despatched to take Verkhne-Kamchatsk and Bolsheretsk, and everywhere the Russians were slain. It so happened, however, that the "Gabriel" unexpectedly returned on account of an impending storm. The ship was not prepared for a sea-voyage; besides, the crew were not eager to go to the Anadyr. The sudden return of the "Gabriel" saved the Russians on the peninsula. With the assistance of the sailors, Verkhne-Kamchatsk and Bolsheretsk were successfully held, Nishne-Kamchatsk was recaptured, and the revolt was suppressed.

When the news of the revolt and its suppression reached Yakutsk, the Administration resolved to send a commission to Kamchatka for the investigation of the causes of the uprising, of the numerous revolts of Cossacks against their chiefs, and of the incessant feuds between the chiefs and their parties, for rumors had been current in Yakutsk of the cruelty, violence, and licentiousness of the Cossack chiefs and soldiers on the peninsula. At the head of the commission were Majors Mekhlin and Pavlutsky. The investigation lasted from 1733 to 1739. Sentences of death were passed by the commissioners on several Kamchadal instigators of the uprising, as well as on Cossacks convicted of criminal actions.[2]

After his mission to Kamchatka, Pavlutsky, in 1740, was made military commander of Yakutsk; but in 1742 the Government again determined to subject the Chukchee and Koryak by force of arms, and Pavlutsky was ordered back to his Anadyrsk post. Pavlutsky travelled from Yakutsk by way of Kolymsk, as before, instead of following the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, for he was anxious for the time being to avoid encounters with the Koryak. Hurried as his journey was, he did not reach Anadyrsk before November, 1743.

After his arrival, Pavlutsky concentrated all his efforts on the fight with the Chukchee, and left the Koryak undisturbed. When the messengers from Oklansk, in the winter of 1745, brought the news that the fortress was being besieged, Pavlutsky was making preparations for a campaign against the Chukchee, although he knew of the Koryak insurrection. The men whom

[1] According to the original plan of Shestakoff's military expedition, the ship "Gabriel," which had left Okhotsk at the same time with Shestakoff, was to visit Kamchatka, and from there proceed to the mouth of the Alut River, where the commander of the expedition expected to arrive from the shores of the Okhotsk Sea (see p. 787) in order to subdue the Alutor Koryak; from there it was intended that the ship should sail to the mouth of the Anadyr River, exploring the shores on the way, and continue up the river to the fortification Anadyrsk, which Shestakoff intended to reach by land. When the news of Shestakoff's end arrived, the "Gabriel" remained in Kamchatka, expecting further orders. In June, 1731, she was ordered to proceed to the Anadyr and to enter the service of Pavlutsky.

[2] Among the Russians who were executed was the Cossack officer Shtinnikoff. In 1729 a Japanese ship with seventeen Japanese was carried by the winds to the southern shores of Kamchatka. In order to make use of their merchandise, Shtinnikoff ordered all the Japanese to be killed. Only two escaped death, — an old man and a boy, who were subsequently taken to St. Petersburg and presented to the Empress Elizabeth.

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he had sent to the Reindeer Koryak to demand reindeer for his campaign against the Chukchee were killed or returned empty-handed. Nevertheless, Pavlutsky himself did not attack the Koryak, but sent the officer Proshin with one hundred and twenty soldiers. At his approach, the Koryak raised the siege of Oklansk. Proshin continued his march, the Koryak retreating before him. Finally he opened negotiations with them, and, satisfied by their promise to lay down their arms and to pay tribute in the future, returned to Anadyrsk, having left re-enforcements in Oklansk. Pavlutsky, who returned to Anadyrsk after his Chukchee campaign, towards the close of 1745, put Proshin under arrest for his undetermined mode of action. Further events made it clear how insincere the Koryak had been in their promises. The entire Okhotsk coast remained in the hands of the insurgents, and the Oklansk fortress also fell. To prevent the cannons and the powder from falling into the hands of the Koryak, the garrison interred them. Only four men of the garrison reached Anadyrsk in March, 1747. In the course of the same month Pavlutsky was killed in a battle with the Chukchee.

As indicated above, the Koryak uprising lasted almost until 1757. To illustrate the methods of Koryak warfare and their determination in battle, I will describe two or three more of the leading episodes of that fight.

Pavlutsky's successor, Kekerev, arrived at Anadyrsk in December, 1748, and on the 30th of January, 1749, started out against the Koryak. His party consisted of 236 Cossacks, 88 Yukaghir, and 146 subjected Koryak, on whom fell the burden of transporting both men and luggage. The Koryak, of course, were unreliable allies in a campaign against their own people. While on the way, Kekerev learned from two captured Koryak that the chief of the Reindeer Koryak, Tekietoga, was camping with a band of his people on the Paren River. Kekerev hurried there. Tekietoga, however, was warned in time, and, abandoning his tents and part of his herds, he fled with his men to the Okhotsk Sea. A snow-storm prevented Kekerev from pursuing him effectively, and he changed his course to the Kamenskoye fortification, where Koryak warriors had gathered in great numbers. On the way he destroyed the fortification Ega'č. The first assault on Kamenskoye failed, and Kekerev himself sustained two arrow-wounds; nevertheless during the night the besieged put their wives and children to death, and under cover of a storm fled to one of the inaccessible rocks which surrounded the fortress. There was only one place where that rock could be reached, which was so steep that it could not be scaled without a rope-ladder and thongs. To take the rock by storm in the face of a stone-shower from the Koryak was hardly possible, and to starve them out would have lasted too long. Hence Kekerev raised the siege and turned back to Anadyrsk, taking the promise from the Koryak through whose territory he passed, that they would pay their tribute in the autumn. As usual, he had taken with him a number of Koryak prisoners,

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some of whom were executed in Anadyrsk; others were flogged or tortured to make them tell the names of the instigators of the uprising. The Koryak, of course, did not keep their promise to pay tribute; and in March, 1750, we again find Kekerev engaged in a campaign against the Koryak; namely, on the Talovka River and in the region south of it. He did not succeed any better, however, than in the preceding year.

Captain Shatiloff, who followed Kekerev as the commandant of the fortress Anadyrsk, started out against the Koryak towards the end of March, 1751. He intended to chastise their western branch, and his course accordingly lay towards the Gishiga River. Near the Taigonos Peninsula he sent ahead a scouting-party of fifty men in command of the Cossack Lieutenant Katkovsky. The scouts soon discovered a Koryak camp, and a fight ensued; as soon, however, as a few Koryak had fallen from bullets, the rest fled, abandoning the camp. On entering, Katkovsky found heaps of dead bodies of women and children, obviously put to death by their relatives.

From a Koryak prisoner Katkovsky learned that large Koryak forces were concentrated on the peninsula. Shatiloff hurried there, and presently overtook the Koryak, who, hearing of the approach of the Russians, had retreated to a small inaccessible rocky island several hundred feet off the shore. Shatiloff placed his men on the ice around the island and opened negotiations with the besieged, urging them to surrender and to pay the tribute; but the Koryak indignantly rejected all proposals. Then Shatiloff resolved to take the island by storm, but deferred the assault for a few days, during which the adjoining country was scouted. No more Koryak were found, but the scouts succeeded in capturing a herd of reindeer. The island rose steeply from the sea on all sides. There was only one possible way of ascent, which the Koryak protected by thrusting down reindeer-sleds loaded with stones. Besides, they had placed hidden wolf-traps all around the island. The Russians assaulted from five sides simultaneously; and after a desperate struggle the rock was taken, the defence having cost the Koryak one hundred and thirty dead, among them their chief Tykap. About three hundred corpses of women and children were found scattered in the camp, and only three men and five women were taken prisoners. It appears from these accounts how desperately the Koryak fought, and that they preferred to kill their women and children with their own hands rather than see them captured by the enemy. The Russian losses in that battle were five soldiers and four Cossacks killed, and fifty-one wounded, including several officers. The character of the battle left a strong impression on Shatiloff, for at the capture of two other fortified rocks he proceeded with less determination. Having received the tribute and hostages on the rivers of Paren, Gishiga, and on the Taigonos Peninsula, Shatiloff returned to Anadyrsk in May, 1751. He had failed to break the Koryak revolt.

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Shatiloff's campaign was the last undertaken from the fortress Anadyrsk. The Government had long before come to the conclusion that the subjection of the Koryak required the erecting of a number of fortresses along the Bay of Gishiga, which could be reached from Okhotsk by sea. The fortress Gishiginsk was founded by Okhotsk Cossacks in 1752, but the sea-route to Okhotsk was not opened until 1757. Between the years 1752 and 1756 hostile encounters continued to occur between Cossacks and the Koryak of the Okhotsk coast. The year 1756 is considered to be the last of the Koryak uprising. This, however, is only partly true. The annihilation of entire villages and settlements, the torture of prisoners, the capture of herds from the Reindeer Koryak, had broken their power of resistance only to a certain degree. The main cause of the cessation of wars with the Koryak lay in a change of policy on the part of the Russians. The commandant of the fortress Gishiginsk received orders not to send collectors of tribute to the Koryak villages and camps, but to propose to the Koryak chiefs that they deliver the tribute yearly at the fortress. We shall have occasion to see in how far that measure was conducive to the improvement of Russo-Koryak relations. Naturally there were at first very few Koryak groups who sent tribute voluntarily to Gishiginsk;[1] but experience had shown how futile it was to use force as a means of obtaining tribute.

The other cause of the wars lay in the national pride of the Russian conquerors, who insisted on breaking the stubborn resistance of alien peoples and on subjecting them to Russian rule. But here again experience had made it clear that the submission of these peoples was not worth the sacrifices which it cost. I am here referring only to the Koryak and Chukchee; for the related Kamchadal, being entirely sedentary, were more easily conquered by means of force. In the case of the Koryak, the modified policy of the conquerors finally led to the compromise just described. In regard to the Chukchee, however, it was decided to cease all further attempts to subjugate this people. The fortress Anadyrsk was entirely abolished in 1764 and the Administration transferred to Gishiginsk. Thus the wars of the Russians with the Koryak and Chukchee came to an end when the latter were entirely left to themselves.

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THE TRIBUTE. — "Yasak" is the term applied to the tribute in furs which the Russians imposed on the conquered Siberian peoples. The historians of Siberia agree that during the early periods of settlement the main factor attracting the Russians to Siberia was its widely heralded wealth in furs. For a time Siberian furs were an important financial item in the budget of the Russian Empire. How enormous the wealth in furs of Siberia was at

[1] As late as 1848 we find from the tribute records of the Gishiga district that the number of Reindeer Koryak who were assessed was 294; in the records of 1894 this number rises to 836; and, according to the census of 1897, the number of Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district is 2389.

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relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow.

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep), as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, uyek (Mallotus villosus socialis), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal).

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other.

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants.

In the 17th-19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th-18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study.

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians.

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The first information about the Koryaks was received in Russia from the Cossacks Semen Dezhnev and Mikhail Stadukhin. The Russian moves from the Anadyr' Fort to Kamchatka began with the campaigns of Morozko (1690) and Atlasov (1697–1698). Arbitrary exaction of the fur-tax and, especially, abuses on the part of representatives of the tsar's government encountered Koryak resistance, in the form of armed attack on the units of tax-collectors.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the change in the Russian tax policy (decreased levies and establishment of a fixed tax) resulted in a cessation of the armed attacks on Russian units. The tsarist government also tried to make use of the wealthy upper stratum of Koryak society for its own benefit. Under the new regulations, the tax was submitted by the wealthy Koryaks, who were granted the right to collect it from the population. Supporting and strengthening the exploiting upper group in this manner, the tsarist government also admitted some of its representatives to administrative positions. Thus, the rich baptized toyon of the village of Kamenskoye, Semen Um'yavin, was even a member of the lower District Court during the reign of Catherine II.

In organizing the taxation, the local Russian administration formed administrative units ("clans"), which consisted of neighboring villages of coastal Koryaks and specified territorial groups of reindeer Koryaks. While helping to consolidate the power of the rich Koryaks heading these "clans," the tsarist government also left the Koryaks at the mercy of the commercial exploitation of Russian merchants.

On the whole, the Koryaks lived in a state of subsistence economy in the latter 18th and in the 19th centuries. But side by side with barter between the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Koryaks, there was also a gradual development of trade with Russians. In the 19th century, the Koryaks could not longer manage without imported Russian goods: kettles, iron articles, tobacco, tea, etc. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, American goods also began to penetrate into Koryak territory. At that time, American traders had their own storehouses on the territory, as well as their own agents, and so on. Trade was usually attended by getting the natives drunk and swindling them, and brought enormous profits to the merchants and buyers.

During the latter half of the 18th century, closer ties developed between the Koryaks and the Russians. At this time, Russian villages sprang up on Koryak territory, including Penzhino, Gizhiga, etc. From the Russians, the Koryaks obtained iron hunting and fishing implements, ready-made twine for their nets, more efficient instruments for working wood and bone, and so on. Under the influence of Russian culture, some of the sedentary Koryaks began to live in frame houses. Russian manufactured goods came into daily use, including metal utensils, food products, and, to a lesser degree, textile goods. The strongest cultural influence of the Russians was among the southern Koryaks. Russian names and surnames became predominant among them.

Economy

In the past, the economic activities of the Koryaks consisted of reindeer-breeding, sea-animal hunting, fishing and hunting. The territorial groups listed earlier differed in their economic life. The Chavchuvens were typical reindeer-breeders. They knew nothing of sea hunting, and fur-animal hunting was to them only an auxiliary occupation; fishing was also unimportant. The economy of the Alyutortsy was unusual in that it combined fishing and

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184 In summer,
221 during the fish-runs, all reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy migrated to the
226 mouths of rivers, where they lived with their sedentary kinsmen and worked
233 with them, preparing stocks of fish for the winter. The reindeer herds remained at this time in the care of herdsmen—the boys of the family. This second type of Koryak reindeer-breeding originated much later than the first.

184 The hunting of sea animals (various species of seal and white whale) was
225 the principal occupation of the northern sedentary Koryaks, who lived on the coast of Penzhina Bay: Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy. It also played an important role among the rest of the sedentary Koryaks: the Kereks, Apukintsy, Palantsy, Karagintsy, and sedentary Alyutortsy.

[221] Sea hunting was done during two seasons: spring and fall. The spring
[492] season began in mid-March and ended in the latter part of June. The hunters, armed with rifles and spears, drove out in parties of 78 men, or more, by dogsleds on the sea ice, 5 to 10 kilometers from shore. The seals, which climbed out on the ice, were shot with rifles. The kill was loaded on the sled, and the hunters returned to their village either the same or the following day, after a night on the ice. In a party of 78 men, 2
[501] usually had guns, while the rest brought in the catch, loaded it on the sled and transported it; some were simply onlookers. In May, when open water appeared among the ice floes, sea hunting was done in baydars (skin boats).

The fall season began in mid-September and ended in the latter half of November. The fall hunting was also done in baydars and barkasy [flat-bottomed plank boats]. The animals were caught with nets of sealskin strips.

[173] Long ago, the Koryaks hunted whales. According to legends and literary
[195] sources of the 18th century, the hunt was conducted with a huge net, woven of thick strips of leather. Large stones were used as sinkers. The net was attached to coastal cliffs and crags. Dozens of baydars, each with more than 10 hunters, armed with harpoons, sailed out into the sea. The hunters drove the whale into the net, in which it became entangled. The heavy sinkers made it impossible for the whale to swim out into the sea with the net. The hunters showered him with spears. Wounded and exhausted, the whale died, and the hunters joined forces to pull him ashore. The Alyutortsy also used joined boats instead of baydars in hunting whales.

237 The skins of sea animals were used for straps and boot-soles. The meat
262 and blubber were eaten and stocked. The blubber also provided light. To
438 the Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy, the products of sea hunting—blubber,
437 skins, and sometimes meat as well—served as the principal media of barter with the reindeer-breeders, from whom they obtained deerskins and meat.

Fishing had long been the main occupation of the eastern sedentary
184 Koryaks of the Bering Sea coast: the Karagintsy, the sedentary Alyutortsy
226 and the Apukintsy. Fishing was also important to the western sedentary Koryaks—the Palantsy, and the northern ones—the Kereks—and somewhat
[221] less for the settled Koryaks on the Penzhina—Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy. Fishing was done throughout the summer and early fall season—from mid-June to the middle of September.

226 The most widespread method of fishing was by means of barriers. The river was fenced off from either bank with two barriers of stakes and twigs. At the place where they met, the fishermen attached under the water a chiruch (a sack-net) or a "muzzle," made of strips of wood, laths or twigs. Such barriers were set in shallow places, where the fishermen could work during shoal runs without boats or kungasy [sailboats]. The "muzzles" were emptied several times a day. During the heavy runs of fish (Siberian salmon
[496] and other migrating salmon species), the Koryaks moved to the mouths of rivers. Here groups of households combined into cooperatives and fished

396

Making a hollowed boat.

291

The summer clothing of both the reindeer-breeders and the coastal Koryaks was of the same cut as the winter dress, but was made of soft leather. They also used worn winter clothing in summer. Until the age of 5 or 6, children wore fur overalls (shirts with a cowl, trousers and boots all sewn together). In the children's overall there was an opening at the bottom, covered with a flap, tied to the belt with thongs. In infants' clothing, this flap was lined with dry moss or fine willow shavings. [854]

On their feet, both adults and children of 6 years or older wore short fur stockings, with the fur inside, and over them suede boots, made with the fur outside. The footwear was soled with deer "fetlocks," with bearded-seal skin, or more rarely, with bearskin.

On their heads, men and boys wore a fur hat in the shape of a hood. It was edged in front with dog fur, or the fur of otter or Siberian marmot. It was made in such a way that the ears and forehead could be tightly covered, or exposed, if the wearer chose to do so. Hats were usually adorned with beads and tassels. Often they were made of alternating strips of white and dark fur. Women wore hats more rarely than men. Among the reindeer-breeders, women wore hats under their cowls only during migrations; the rest of the time they went bareheaded, or with the hood raised over their heads.

In the southern areas, kerchiefs were worn. Mittens were made of deer suede, with the fur outside.

302

Girls and women wore their hair with a center part and two braids, which they intertwined with ribbons of soft leather, trimmed with beads. The men usually cut their hair, leaving only a circle around the head.

301

Women and girls wore earrings, which they made by threading bright-colored beads on sinew. Such earrings were sometimes long enough to reach the shoulder.

175 297

According to 18th-century sources, many coastal Koryaks wore clothing of sealskin. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, it was only

501

Kayak.

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seldom that one could see trousers or footwear of sealskin. Eighteenth-century sources also state that "walking" Koryaks wore clothing of bird-skins. We know nothing of the shape of such dress. The ethnographic literature of the 19th century does not mention it.

Man's traveling costume.

Koryak burial clothes (a fur shirt, trousers and boots) were quite distinct. They were made of the skins of white deer. The knee-length fur shirt ended in the back with an elongation (a "tail"). The burial clothes were richly adorned with tassels, fringes and pieces of dog fur. The hem of the shirt was decorated with a strip of geometric embroidery and an edging of wolverine fur.

Food

The basic diet of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks consisted of reindeer meat, usually boiled. Bone marrow, kidneys, gristle and leg tendons were also eaten raw. In winter, pounded and crushed frozen meat was eaten. The reindeer-breeders also obtained meat and fat of sea animals from coastal Koryaks by barter. Fish was used in small quantities—boiled in summer, and yukola in winter. The yukola was prepared in the summer or obtained from the coastal Koryaks.

The diet of the various sedentary groups depended on the character of their economic activities. The basic food was fish: boiled in summer, and in the form of yukola or fermented in winter. The upper part of the fish-head (brain, gristle, eyes) was eaten raw and considered a delicacy. Alyutortsy considered the heads of "sour" fish a great delicacy. Southern Koryaks, who were most exposed to Russian influence, boiled fish with cereals, mainly with rice. The meat and fat of sea animals (seal and occasionally white whale) were the favorite food of the coastal Koryaks.

All Koryaks used plant food in large quantities. Lily-root, sedge, wild sorrel and willow-herb were used as seasonings with fish and meat. Crowberry and blueberry were used in making hash (tolkusha)—a dish of grated reindeer or seal meat and fat with an admixture of edible roots and berries. The thick porridge prepared in this manner was a favorite food. Cloudberry and blueberry were eaten raw; the latter was also used in making an intoxicating drink.

Among imported products, the Koryaks used tea and sugar. The use of flour, of which they made flatcakes, was very limited. Baked bread and zwieback were known only to the sedentary southern Koryaks, who came into close contact with Russians. Widely used was leaf tobacco, which was smoked, but more often kept in the mouth, between the teeth and cheek. All sources, from the very earliest, speak of the use of fly-agaric by the Koryaks as a stimulant.

Social Relations and Religious Beliefs

At the end of the 19th century, private ownership of the means of production predominated among the Koryaks. In the fields of production and distribution, however, there were numerous survivals of primitive-communal relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks.

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relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks. Thus, related families of Alyutortsy combined in summertime for common fishing. The catch was divided equally among them. Their sea hunting was also collective. From seven to eight persons went out to hunt together. On returning to the village, they divided the meat and fat of the seals killed during the hunt in equal shares among all the residents of the village; only the skin of the bearded or common seal went to the man who killed it. Kamentsy also shared equally the meat and fat of the seal they hunted in common, but sometimes the owner of the boat took a larger share.

The reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy also combined into 4-6 kindred families, which nomadized and herded their deer in common. These were productive associations of a temporary nature, similar to the temporary associations of fishermen and sea hunters.

According to 18th-19th-century data, the coastal Koryak family was already economically self-sufficient at that time. Individual families owned boats, nets, and traps, which they were free to use at their own discretion, down to selling them to other families. But there were also cases where nets belonged collectively to related families.

Even by the time of the Revolution, social inequality was not sharply expressed among the coastal Koryaks. They lived predominantly in a subsistence, consumption economy, with fur as the only commodity for sale.

The situation among the Chavchuvens was quite different. Even in the early part of the 18th century, Krasheninnikov wrote about the wealth of individual reindeer-breeders. Thus, already there was sharp property differentiation among the reindeer-breeders at that time. The process of stratification became still more intensified in the 19th century in connection with the development of trade.

At the time of the Revolution, there were among the reindeer-breeders men of great wealth, who owned herds of thousands of reindeer. On the other hand, there were householders owning only 10-15 reindeer and therefore compelled to work for the rich as herdsmen. Very often, distant relatives of the owners also became herdsmen; in such cases, family relations served as a cover for the usual exploitation.

In exchange for his hard labor in tending the reindeer, the herdsman received from his master only meat for his food and skins for his clothing, with the quantity of the compensation dependent entirely on the will of the master. The encampment of the rich Koryak usually included several families of herdsmen entirely dependent on their master economically and subject to his will in everything. The herdsmen could not kill a reindeer for food without the master's permission, and therefore often went hungry. In addition to tending reindeer, they performed a variety of other tasks: prepared firewood, brought water, hunted fur animals. The rich reindeer-breeder disposed of the labor of the herdsman's family as well. The herdsman's wife and daughters processed the reindeer skins for the master, made thread of reindeer sinew, sewed clothing and boots of reindeer-skins, etc. It was difficult for a herdsman to leave his master. Although custom permitted the changing of masters (in the fall, when the season began), in reality this was difficult to accomplish. The chief obstacle was the "debts" which the herdsman had managed to incur with his master: during the year he obtained from the latter small quantities of tea, sugar, flour, cartridges, etc. The master was not bound to provide imported goods; he merely had to "feed" his herdsmen. For a year's work, the herdsman received a female reindeer. As a rule, each herdsman owned 5-6, and only occasionally 10 or more, reindeer, earned by several years of hard labor. Naturally, with such a small number of reindeer it was impossible to live independently.

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Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th–19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2–3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

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Samples of ornamentation on hems of fur clothing.

rectangles, triangles and circles), or representational (figures of reindeer, stylized animals and birds, fantastic plants).

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Beads, silk and reindeer hair were used to decorate boots, mittens, matchboxes, and a variety of bags and pouches. Another craft practiced by women and particularly developed among the Karagintsy was the weaving of baskets, bags and boxes of dry grass.

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Contemporary Life

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In December 1917, the Soviet regime was established on Kamchatka. The civil war which soon broke out in the Far East did not allow the launching of economic and cultural work on the territory inhabited by the Koryaks. In the beginning of 1918, Kolchak's appointees took over Kamchatka. In 1920, an underground revolutionary committee organized an uprising in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, leading to the restoration of Soviet rule. In 1921, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Gizhiga and Nayakhan were occupied by a White Guard detachment under Captain Bochkarev. The Petropavlovsk Revolutionary Committee was compelled to withdraw into the mountains. Since

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the White Guards occupied only the largest populated centers, the Soviet government in effect continued to exist in the uyezds. Representatives of the Revolutionary Committee directed the struggle of the local population against the White troops. Thus, a Red guerrilla unit was organized from among the Russians and natives (Koryaks and Itel'mens) of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. In pursuing the Whites, retreating to the Okhotsk coast, this unit crossed the entire territory of the present Koryak (National) Okrug by dog team in wintertime. Together with the Red Army unit which had occupied the city of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy by this time (1922), the Russian-Koryak guerrilla unit took part in mopping up the remnants of Bochkarev's gang near the village of Nayakhan. Individual Whites who managed to escape from Nayakhan and Gizhiga were finished off by the Red Army unit with the direct participation of Koryak reindeer-breeders in the area of Korfa Bay.

The winter of 1922-23 marked the final establishment of the Soviet government on Koryak territory. The short rule of the Whites had been attended by open looting of the population; the reindeer-breeding Koryaks of Taygonos Peninsula suffered most of all, since the White units confiscated their reindeer for transportation and food. The representative of the White government in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy granted Japanese capitalists the exclusive fishing rights within an area that included the present Koryak National Okrug. Japanese and American traders were also given the freedom to purchase furs from the natives.

During the early years of the Soviet regime (1923-1926), the uyezd, and later the rayon revolutionary committees had to do a great deal of work in order to overcome the grave effects of the civil war.

In 1930, after the First Congress of Soviets of Kamchatka, wide activity was launched in organizing local soviets, cooperatives and various socio-cultural institutions. Particular attention was given to the development of Soviet trade. New trading centers were established in a number of villages, where Koryaks were able to obtain essential provisions, hunting guns and ammunition. The establishment of fixed prices on furs and reindeer skins made it possible for the Koryaks to start improving their economic level.

A large role in raising the cultural level of the Koryak population was played by the cultural base opened on the Penzhina River in 1930 by the Committee to Assist the Peoples of the North. The establishment of an independent Koryak National Okrug (December 1930) stimulated the further successes of economic and cultural construction among the Koryaks.

Collectivization among the Koryaks, particularly among the nomadic reindeer-breeders, was conducted under conditions of class struggle. The wealthy Chavchuven reindeer-breeders destroyed large parts of their herds and did everything they could to interfere with the collective farms.

The remnants of primitive-communal relations which had masked exploitation at first impeded the unification of individual households into collective farms. The first forms of cooperative associations among the Koryaks were societies for the common herding of reindeer. Later, the principal form of association was the cooperative.

The development of collective farms entailed transition to sedentary life. The process of settling down was especially complex and difficult for the reindeer-breeders, both because of their traditionally nomadic existence, and because of the conditions of the reindeer-breeding industry itself; the change of pastures demanded frequent migrations. In the transition to sedentary life, this complex problem was solved as follows: pastures were assigned to individual collectives, and the tending and care of the herds were put in the hands of special brigades of herders, which accompanied the herds. The rest of the collective-farm